

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PARIS 18104 01 OF 02 201818Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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R 201755Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4416
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 18104

EXDIS

NOFORN

USEEC

BELGRADE FOR AMB SHERER

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: SHUM CSCE FR US UR
SUBJ: ELYSEE COMMENTS ON BREZHNEV VISIT

REF: A) PARIS 17170, B) PARIS 16811

1. SPEAKING STRICT CONFIDENCE ELYSEE INTERNATIONAL
STAFF SOURCE MADE FOLLOWING COMMENTS JUNE 17 ON STATE
PREPARATIONS AND OTHER ELYSEE PERCEPTIONS REGARDING
BREZHNEV VISIT.

2. SOURCE CONFIRMED THAT CERTAIN DIFFERENCES ON TEXTS
COULD NOT BE RESOLVED BEFORE BREZHNEV'S ARRIVAL.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 18104 01 OF 02 201818Z

HOWEVER THEY SHOULD POSE NO MAJOR PROBLEMS. SIDES ARE,
FOR INSTANCE, STILL WORKING ON CERTAIN PASSAGES ON DETENTE
AND CSCE, EVEN THOUGH ELYSEE FEELS GENERALLY
SATISFIED WITH TENOR OF TIS TEXT WHICH,
EMBOFF WAS TOLD, IS ALREADY MORE SUPPORTIVE OF WESTERN
THAN OF SOVIET PERCEPTIONS IN THESE FIELDS.

3. SIMILARLY CERTAIN UNFINISHED PASSAGES REMAIN IN MIDDLE EAST PORTIONS OF DRAFT DECLARATION. ELYSEE SAYS FRENCH WANT TO REINTRODUCE "THAT SHADE" OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON PALESTINIAN HOMELAND ISSUE WHICH THEY FEEL WAS LOST AS A RESULT OF FAHMY'S MOSCOW TALKS.

4. ON OTHER HAND SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT EXISTS ON PORTIONS OF DRAFT DEALING WITH AFRICA--WHERE COMPROMISE LANGUAGE WAS REPORTEDLY FOUND TO BRIDGE THE WIDE DIFFERENCES WHICH ACTUALLY EXIST--AS WELL AS ON DISARMAMENT AND ON-PROLIFERATION. THE TEXTS ON THE TWO LATTER SUBJECT ARE CAST IN BROAD GENERALITIES AND, EMBOFF WAS ASSURED, THEREFORE CONTAIN NO SURPRISES. ON NON-PROLIFERATION FRENCH OBJECT WAS TO ASSOCIATE SOVIETS AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE IN EYES OF LESS-INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS WITH LONDON CLUB POSITIONS ON EXPORT OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. SOURCE SAYS FRENCH FEEL THEY HAVE ACHIEVED THIS.

5. MOVING ON TO SIGNIFICANCE OF BREZHNEV VISIT AS A WHOLE, SOURCE THEN SAID THAT, IN VIEW OF SIGNIFICANT BUT HARDLY STARTLING RESULTS TO BE EXPECTED, REASON FOR NEW SOVIET INTEREST IN IMPROVING FRANCO-SOVIET ATMOSPHERICS MUST BE SOUTH ELSEWHERE. FRANCO-SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS THESE DAYS ARE CERTAINLY NOT NEGLIGIBLE. BUT PROGRESS IN THIS AND OTHER FIELDS IS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PARIS 18104 01 OF 02 201818Z

NOT SUFFICIENT TO EXPLAIN NEW POSITIVE SOVIET APPROACH CONFIRMED DURING DE GUIRINGAUD'S MOSCOW PREPARATORY TALKS.

6. IN DEVELOPING POINT, SOURCE SAID THAT BREZHNEV OBVIOUSLY HAS PERSONAL STAKE IN MAKING THIS FIRST FOREIGN VENTURE IN SEVERAL YEARS--HIS PREMIERE AS CHAIRMAN OF PRESIDUM--A SUCCESS. AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, IS APPARENT SOVIET FEELING THAT IMPROVED FRANCO-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP CAN COMPENSATE TO AN EXTENT FOR THEIR DISSATISFACTIONS WITH ASPECTS OF OF CURRENT US POLICY, PARTICULARLY IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. FOR FRENCH THIS NEW TONE OBVIOUSLY IS NOT UNWELCOME. IT REPRESENTS LOGICAL SOVIET RESPONSE TO GISCARD'S SELF-RESTRAINED AND LONG-TERM APPROACH TO EAST-WEST ISSUES. AND, GISCARD IS NOT INSENSITIVE TO OBVIOUS DOMESTIC ADVANTAGES A SUCCESSFUL BREZHNEV VISIT WOULD BRING HIM, WHICH WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO FRENCH LEFT AND RIGHT THAT FRANCE UNDER HIS PRESIDENCY CONTINUES TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY BOTH SUPER-POWERS.

7. EMPHASIZING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING ON PARTICULARLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS SOURCE THEN SAID THAT ONE OF

IMMEDIATE REASONS FOR CURRENT SOVIET AMIABILITY WAS
OBVIOUSLY MOSCOW'S EXPECTATION THAT FRENCH WOULD PLAY
"MODERATING ROLE" VIS-A-VIS US AT CSCE REVIEW
CONFERENCE AT BELGRADE. THIS HOPE, SOURCE CONTINUED,
WAS JUSTIFIED ONLY A A VERY PRECISE AND LIMITED
RESPECT. CLEARLY FRENCH WOULD NOT BE LOOKING FOR
TROUBLE. MOREOVER, IN ORDER NOT TO SPOIL BREZHNEV VISIT
BY INADVERTANCE, ELYSEE WAS ANXIOUS TO AVOID
UNNECESSARY PROVOCATIONS OR "INCIDENTS" AT BELGRADE OR
ELSEWHERE, PARTICULARLY BEFORE AND DURING BREZHNEV'S
TRIP. HENCE QUAI INDICATION TO EMBASSY (REF B) THAT
GOF WOULD NOT HENCEFORTH ASSOCIATE ITSELF ROUTINELY WITH
NATO CAUCUSES AT CSCE CONFERENCE. HOWEVER SOURCE SAID
THAT WE SHOULD NOTE CERTAIN RELAXATION THESE FRENCH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 PARIS 18104 01 OF 02 201818Z

PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES IN WEEKS AFTER VISIT, WHEN THINGS
SHOULD GRADUALLY REVERT TO MORE NORMAL PATTERNS.

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PAGE 05 PARIS 18104 01 OF 02 201818Z

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PAGE 01 PARIS 18104 02 OF 02 201827Z
ACTION SS-25

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-----015601 201829Z /42

R 201755Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 PARIS 18104

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8. ON OTHER HAND, SOURCE EMPHASIZED, WE SHOULD ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT GISCARD WILL NOT AUTOMATICALLY JOIN US IN SPECIFICALLY US-USSR CONFRONTATIONS DERIVING FROM OUR HUMAN RIGHTS "CAMPAIGN", FOR INSTANCE IF THERE WERE A SUDDEN ESCALATION OVER THE CHTCHARANSKY AFFAIR. GISCARD CONSIDERS THIS AND SIMILAR CASES TO BE SOVIET COUNTER-MOVES TO VIGOROUS US EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND WANTS TO KEEP FRANCE OUT OF SUCH SPECIFIC FIGHTS. GISCARD, SOURCE SAID, ENTIRELY SHARES US OBJECTIVES IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, SINCE FRENCH ARE NO LESS ATTACHED TO LIBERTY THAN ARE AMERICANS. HOWEVER, AS EVIDENCED BY HIS RECENT POLITICALLY COSTLY REFUSAL TO REVEIVE AMALRIK AT ELYSEE, HE DISAGREES WITH US
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SECRET

PAGE 02 PARIS 18104 02 OF 02 201827Z

TACTICS: FIRST, BECAUSE HE CONSIDERS CURRENT US HUMAN RIGHTS APPROACH TOO RISKY, SINCE SOVIET REFUSAL TO ACCOMMODATE ITSELF TO US DESIRES IN PARTICULAR CASES OR SITUATIONS INVITES EITHER ESCALATION OF ARGUMENT OR A US RETREAT FROM THE PROBLEM, RESPONSES WHICH ARE BOTH DISADVANTAGEOUS TO DETENTE; AND SECONDLY, BECAUSE IN HIS VIEW, APPROACH IS DANGEROUS FOR WEST'S FRIENDS IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, SINCE US EFFORTS HAVE PRODUCED HARDENING OF SOVIET POSITIONS VIS-A-VIS DISSENTERS.

10. IN SUM, SOURCE RECAPITULATED, FRENCH WILL FAITHFULLY FOLLOW AND PARTICIPATE IN COMMONLY AGREED TO WESTERN POSITIONS AT BELGRADE AND ELSEWHERE. HOWEVER THEY WILL SIDESTEP ANY SPECIFICALLY SOVIET-AMERICAN ROW, IF IT IS A FUNCTION OF TACTICS US HAS ADOPTED WITH WHICH FRENCH DO NOT AGREE. MOSCOW OBVIOUSLY VALUES, AND IS RESPONDING TO THIS FRENCH POSITION. HOWEVER, ELYSEE SOURCE WAS AT PAINS TO UNDERLINE THAT GISCARD IN FACT HAD NO MORE INTENTION OF SELLING OUT ON FUNDAMENTALS IN THIS FIELD THAN HE HAD ON DISARMAMENT, WHERE FRENCH HAVE REMAINED VERY TOUGH ON SUBSTANCE.

EMBOFF RESPONDED BY OFFERING TO SEND ELYSEE SOONEST COPY OF PRESIDENT'S REPORT ON CSCE COMPLIANCE WHICH MORE CLEARLY ILLUSTRATES SOVER FACTUAL APPROACH

US TAKING THESE ISSUES. SOURCE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION, OFFERING TO PASS REPORT TO PRESIDENT GISCARD, WHO HE SAID WILL READ IT WITH UTMOST INTEREST. WE HAVE DONE SO TODAY.

11. ON OTHER ASPECTS OF VISIT SOURCE SAID THAT ELYSEE TOO DOUBTED THAT BREZHNEV WOULD HAVE CONTACT WITH MARCHAIS WHILE HERE AND DESCRIBED CURRENT FUSS WITH SECRET

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PAGE 03 PARIS 18104 02 OF 02 201827Z

CHIRAC OVER ELYSEE'S REFUSAL TO INVITE HIM TO BREZHNEV FUNCTIONS AS REFLECTION OF GISCARD'S PERSONAL IRRITATION WITH HIM. GAMMON

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Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
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